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Copy

August 30, 1950

President Harry S. Truman
The White House
Washington, D. C.

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY EDITIONS
September 10, 1950

My dear Mr. President:

President Wilson said: "We do not need less criticism in time of war, but more....Honesty and competence require no shield of secrecy."

Believing that you agree with President Wilson, I respectfully suggest that you:

1. Study the attached Bill of Particulars, gathered from various sources.

2. Reveal to your fellow citizens all the still-secret documents of importance, the names of your advisers and the occasions for such advice, in connection with each of the items enumerated.

3. Replace the above advisers with men whom time has proven sound and authoritative on the dangers of World Communism.

Mr. President, the Security of the Republic is at issue. The hour is late. I beseech you to rise above business-as-usual, spending-as-usual, bureaucracy-as-usual, and politics-as-usual. I fully realize that the Republican Party has failed sufficiently to protest the sell-out of the Free World step by step as it occurred; they have gone along in Eastern Europe in the bi-partisan appeasement of the Soviet Union, while protesting about China. They must share the blame. Final responsibility, however, is yours.

It will never be too late to adopt a policy aimed at the overthrow of the Tyranny that rules from Moscow, so that a free world may again return to the ways of peace with justice. Such a policy should be as publicly proclaimed as is the Communist "Program" for the conquest of the world. Americans do not lack courage nor thrive on secret conspiracy. Tell us, I beg you, where we have been, where we are, and where we are going.

Are we going to the 38th parallel? to the Manchurian border? to the aid of all threatened nations whether they are willing to fight or not? to pamper their own Red Fifth Columnists or not? or will we go on to the final overthrow of the Tyrannical Red Slave State that rules from the Kremlin?

Most respectfully yours,

Alfred Kohlberg

Alfred Kohlberg

Enclosures:
Bill of Particulars
Statement of June 10, 1948
Extra copy for State Department check of accuracy.

ENCLOSURE
97-2660-31

August 30, 1950

BILL OF PARTICULARS

1. IT WAS WIDELY REPORTED THAT THE CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT ON THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET AT THE CHICAGO CONVENTION OF 1944 WAS "CLEARED" WITH SIDNEY HILLMAN. You were selected. Since then it has been revealed that among Mr. Hillman's advisers were John Abt, C. B. Baldwin, Lee Pressman and Nathan Witt. If there was any understanding, no matter how inconsequential, it would be a matter of public interest. Recently, the Treasury spent two months investigating my affairs for 1946-47. I considered this right and proper. Parents of Americans who will die under your command have a right to ask whether there was an understanding between you and Mr. Hillman, and whether that understanding was reduced to writing. Though government witnesses have since then identified Messrs. Abt, Pressman and Witt as Soviet espionage agents, they have not been arrested. Unexplained, it is disturbing.

2. WHEN YOU BECAME PRESIDENT YOU WERE BOUND BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MILITARY AGREEMENTS WITH OUR ALLIES. Under our Constitutional system, territorial, economic and political agreements could not be binding until confirmed by the Senate. According to the memoirs of Secretary Stettinius, President Roosevelt made this perfectly clear to Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Stalin at Yalta. Therefore, you started with a clean slate, and what has happened since 1945 must be credited to you.

3. WHEN YOU ASSUMED OFFICE YOU WERE THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE GREATEST AIRFORCE, GREATEST NAVY AND MOST POWERFUL ARMY IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. The military alliance you headed included nations totaling 1,890,000,000 people. Complete and unconditional victory was only 4 months distant.

Of our then military allies only 190,000,000 owed allegiance to the Dictatorship in the Kremlin. 1,700,000,000 comprised the population of Governments who ruled by consent of their people, expressed in accordance with their traditional forms. On the day of victory the odds in the U. N. were 8 to 1 against the Communist tyranny.

Today, 830,000,000 people are ruled from the Kremlin; while our military allies are an unknown quantity, if any. The most optimistic estimate would count only the Anzacs, the Chinese Nationalists, Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere as on our side when the chips are down. These nations total 540,000,000 people. On this most optimistic count the odds now favor the Kremlin by 5 to 3.

The responsibility for this disastrous change rests solely on you and your advisers.

This bill of particulars details but a few of the decisive errors that brought us from unconditional victory to almost unconditional danger. After 5 years of vast tribute to ally and defeated enemy alike, we find ourselves fighting alone in Korea, except for the South Koreans, whom you and Secretary Acheson spurned in your joint statements of January 5th last. The offer of 3 divisions by the Republic of China, which you spurned inthe same statement, was rejected by Sec. Acheson July 1st.

97-2660-31

4. THE CHAIN OF DECISIONS AND EVENTS THAT HAVE BROUGHT US TO WAR IN KOREA, UNDER THE MOST UNFAVORABLE CIRCUMSTANCES, ARE FULLY SET FORTH IN A 40 MINUTE SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN WALTER JUDD, IN THE HOUSE, JULY 27, 1950

5. EVERY OFFICIAL STATE DEPARTMENT STUDY HAS FOUND THAT THE SOVIET REGIME WAS

(a) A RUTHLESS TYRANNY
(b) NOT TO BE TRUSTED TO CARRY OUT ANY AGREEMENT.

Yet on June 10, 1950, in your Foreign Policy speech at St. Louis you said: "We had hoped that our wartime ally, the Soviet Union, would join in the efforts of the whole community of nations to build a peaceful world," and "....we are closer to world peace now than at any time in the last 3 years."

In making this statement you disregarded the exhaustive official studies of the Communist Dictatorship made by your Government. The first of these studies was made and published by Robert Lansing, Secretary of State for Woodrow Wilson, whose heir you are. In his letter of transmittal, dated October 27, 1919, Secretary Lansing said:

> "....the purpose of the Bolsheviks is to subvert the existing principles of government and society the world over, including those countries in which democratic institutions are already established. They have built up a political machine, which by a concentration of power in the hands of a few and by the ruthlessness of its methods, suggests the Asiatic despotism of the early Tsars."

The following year, under President Wilson's last Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, another study was made and published. Based on it, Secretary Colby wrote a public letter to the Italian Ambassador stating why we would not recognize the Bolshevik regime in Russia Dated August 10, 1920, he said:

> "The responsible leaders of that regime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements."

Further studies were made and published under succeeding Secretaries of State, all to the same effect, until 1933, when such reports were sealed, and it became our policy to present Bolshevik Czar Stalin as a benign individual, and the Bolshevik regime as a peace-loving democracy.

State Department personnel, who by years of study, had become authorities on Communist fifth columns throughout the world, and on Communist theory, plans and programs, were exiled to the far corners of the earth, or muzzled.

As recently as May 1, 1950, in a letter authorized by you, the State Department advised me that they had no use at this time for anyone who was informed on Communist theory, program or intentions, or who had been correct in warning you or the nation of the developing crisis

6. CHARGES OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES MADE AGAINST OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN MET WITH UNBELIEF OR RIDICULE.

Sworn testimony and charges in Congress, involving Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Lee Pressman, Harold Glasser, Nathan Witt, John Abt, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, Lauchlin Currie, Noel Field, Duncan Lee, Owen Lattimore, Michael Greenberg, Harry Dexter White, and innumerable others, have resulted only in the trial of Alger Hiss. The charges have been called "red-herrings", and high government officials have disgraced themselves by testifying for the accused, supposedly with your approval or at your request.

Beginning in 1944, when Alger Hiss was put in charge of U. S. activities in the U.N., there has constantly been a strange assortment of persons soft to Communism acting as representatives of the U. S. and as staff members. Small wonder that the U. N., created ostensibly to enforce the peace, has been helpless in Eastern Europe and in China, and could act in Korea only because of the temporary absence of Russia and our willingness to carry the burden.

More than 5 years ago, I gave the State Department information of Communist activities by certain officials. Previously, and since, I have given the F.B.I. information and leads. According to the Tydings report, these were not even investigated. Were you serious when you asked your fellow-citizens to report such information to the F.B.I., and then drop the matter?

Invariably, the Administration seems to have rushed to the defense of the accused, refused access to the files, cleared the accused before hearing, investigated and smeared the accuser.

7. NAMES OF 163 or 313 SUSPECTED SPIES FURNISHED BY CANADA. NO ARRESTS.

In 1945, Prime Minister Mackenzie King flew to Washington to present to you a report on the Gouzenko Soviet spy ring. It has been both reported and denied that he handed you a list of 150 such spies in the U. S., which list had already been turned over to the F.B.I. by the Royal Canadian Police. Cabinet Minister Pearson confirmed that you were given 163 names of Americans connected with one of the Canadians arrested. In any case, not one was arrested, either of that list or of the cases developed by the Un-American Activities Committee. It was reported that the F.B.I. had the evidence, but that the State Dept. refused to permit the arrests for fear of offending Russia.

8. DELIVERY OF SLAVE-LABORERS AND GERMAN P.O.W'S TO RUSSIA.

A great mystery surrounds the delivery of 400,000 German P.O.W.'s by us to the Russians, contrary to the Geneva Convention, to which we adhere. Do we have their names and records? Where are they now that Russia claims to hold no more Germans?

And what substance is there to the stories of hundreds of thousands of Russians returned forcibly to Stalin against their will? and against all our humanitarian traditions?

For example, at Nordhausen about 40,000 Russian civilians worked in the enormous underground, air-conditioned V 2 rocket factory. These Russians were forcibly returned to Russia against their will and we then turned over the entire works, unscathed, to the Soviets, on their promise to dismantle and return the machinery to the various countries of manufacture, such as France, Czechoslovakia and even Cincinnati, Ohio. Did the Russians carry out their promises, or are they still making V 2 rockets there?

9. WHO STOPPED GEN. EISENHOWER'S MARCH ON BERLIN?

At that time our 9th Army was not more than 30 miles from Berlin. With 11,000 combat effectives the 9th Army held 65,000 German prisoners. Resistance had practically ceased. They could have been in Berlin the next day. Goebbel's sound trucks were notifying the Berliners to surrender to the Americans. The Russians were still 25 miles East of Berlin and didn't arrive until 10 days later. Who ordered our forces to retreat to the Elbe and leave Berlin for the Russians -- a decision that has cost us so dearly since?

If Gen. Eisenhower is the Rep ublican and you are the Democratic nominee in 1952, each of you will have to charge that it was the other who issued the order to our victorious armies to back-track, to turn the Berlin sector over to the Russians, and put our necks in a noose there. It is perfectly apparent that the order for retreat was a sudden decision by you or Gen. Eisenhower contrary to the previous orders given the Generals rushing on Berlin. Why not now make public the orders then issued, instead of waiting until 1952?

10. WHO STOPPED GEORGIE PATTON 30 MILES FROM PRAGUE?

In the Saturday Evening Post of April 17, 1948, Demaree Bess reported that Gen. Georgie Patton, (pet hate of the Reds because he was the officer-of-the-day who headed the detail from Ft. Myers which dispersed the bonus campers in Washington in 1932) was ordered to halt his conquest of Czechoslovakia and to refuse the German surrender which had already been made by the German General to one of Patton's colonels. The fate of Czechoslovakia was sealed.

11. WHY DID WE THEN TURN THE URANIUM MINES OVER TO RUSSIA?

Whoordered Gen. Eisenhower, after the German surrender, to withdraw from already-occupied Western Saxony and Thuringia and turn them over to the Russians?

The area abandoned to the Russians is the industrially most valuable part of the present Soviet-occuped East ern Germany. Together with Jachymov in Czechoslovakia, which Gen. Patton was ordered to evacuate, it contains some of the most valuable uranium deposits in the world. Without Czech-Saxon Erzgebirge, the Soviets wouldn ot have been able to produce an atom bomb by 1949. These turnovers to Russia were ordered at a time when Russia had already broken the Yalta agreements of the previous February in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary and even in Berlin, and was refusing us access to American P.O.W.'s behind the Russian lines, some of whom, Counter-Intelligence reports, are still held by the Russians.

12. PRO-RUSSIAN CLIQUE TOOK OVER STA TE DEPT. IN 1944-45.

Under oath, before the Un-American Activities Committee Aug. 30, 1948, Mr. Adolf Berle, former Asst. Secy. of State, and then and now Chairman of the New Deal Liberal Party of New York State, testified:

> "....in the fall of 1944 there was a difference of opinion in the State Dept.... I was pressing for a pretty clean cut showdown" (with the Russians) "then when our position was strongest. The opposite group in the State Dept. was largely the men--Mr. Acheson's group of course, with Mr. Hiss as his principal assistant....I got trimmed in that fight and, as a result, went to Brazil and that ended my diplomatic career."

Later, he referred to the Acheson group as "the pro-Russian clique."

Mr. Berle could have named numerous others of his group who were forced out so that only the "pro-Russian clique" remained. The clique then named by Mr. Berle now runs our State Dept.

13. THE ACHESON-LILIENTHAL REPORT.

In 1946, the State Dept. presented a public report on the internationalization of the "A" Bomb. Called the Acheson-Lilienthal Report, it proposed the step by step release of all atomic data on the basis of an international agreement, made unenforceable by no restrictions on the veto in the U. N. Security Council. Fortunately, the Baruch Commission took a more realistic view of our "peace-loving Soviet allies" and provided for continuing inspection, free of the veto. Russia refused.

Reward for this proposed A-Bomb gift to Russia by the Acheson-Lilienthal Committee, was Chairmanship of the Atomic Energy Commission for Lilienthal, and Secretary of State for Acheson. Just to make it perfect, Philip C. Jessup, who, while still a Columbia professor in 1946, proposed we give the bomb to Russia while throwing our own stock-pile in the ocean, was made Ambassador-at-large and Chief Adviser on "how to get along with the Russians", and now member of the Security Council, cleared for atomic secrets.

The original Atomic Energy Commission consisted of 4 men in addition to Chairman Lilienthal. Three of the four, and the first counsel of the Commission were known as leftist liberals, hardly the qualifications for keeping out Soviet sympathizers and spies.

14. SHARING THE A-BOMB WITH RUSSIA.

As recently as last September, you again proposed to share the A-Bomb with Russia, subject to certain promises. At that time, Russia had a 100% record of broken promises to us, and to all the world. Do we still intend to trade the A-Bomb for Russian promises?

15. H-BOMB DELAY.

The newspapers have reported that atom-spy Fuchs had information on the H-Bomb in 1945. Also, that our AEC is just now discussing a site for H-Bomb development. The delay remains unexplained.

16. ONE OF THE UNEXPLAINED PUZZLES WAS YOUR PROPOSAL TO SEND JUSTICE VINSON TO MOSCOW just before the election of 1948. It is reported that you intended him to be a latter-day Harry Hopkins to again woo Stalin. This idea was abandoned, according to Arthur Krock, only because the election campaign was on. The question arises: What countries was Justice Vinson authorized to sell out for another scrap of paper signed "Joe Stalin"?

17. ACCORDING TO THE HOOVER REPORT WE HAD THE FULL EQUIPMENT OF 89 DIVISIONS AT THE END OF THE WAR. At the time of the Report we had left only the equipment of 18 divisions. The larger part of this missing equipment was destroyed in Europe and the Pacific. In the copper trade it is believed that the largest copper deposit in the world is at the bottom of Pacific lagoons, where we dumped it. A very considerable part of the destroyed arms, planes and ammunition is exactly what we now have to build all over again, both to arm our Atlantic Pact allies and for ourselves. Americans who must work and pay for this, and troops at the front inadequately armed, are entitled

to know who ordered that destruction.

18. $ 9 BILLION SPENT ON EQUIPMENT SINCE 1946.

Having destroyed $35 billion of U. S. war equipment in Europe, we have spent something like $50 billion since 1946 on our armed forces. The results are not reassuring. Of this sum only $9 billion was spent on new equipment. Whether we do or do not have any A-Bomb defense, or any warning network, either in being or planned, is another item that civilian defense officials have some right to know. Many believe that the Soviet spy network must have furnished this information to Moscow. If they know it, why shouldn't we?

19. FOREIGN AID WASTED WITHOUT MILITARY PROTECTION.

Since 1945, under your direction, a sum exceeding $36 billion has been spent on various forms of foreign aid. Of this entire amount, scarcely $1 billion has been for military supplies or training for our supposed allies in case of war. You have been advised again and again that economic aid, in advance of military protection was playing the Communist game. The results in Korea, where $440 million of economic aid, and in China, where $1-1/2 billion of economic aid prior to military security was wasted, points up the wisdom of the rejected military advice.

A public statement, supplementing the private advice, was made to the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, March 4, 1948 in connection with the proposed Marshall Plan for Europe, by Deputy Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer. He said:

> "I have made the statement repeatedly that I do not believe that we should improve conditions politically, economically, or culturally in any area in the world without protecting such areas militarily, as long as there are forces in the world that unquestionably have for a policy the destruction of everything and everyone in opposition to their aggression."

Rejection of this warning was cited as the cause of the Korean War by the ECA Director for Korea in the N. Y. Times of July 15, 1950 (page 3)

20. MARSHALL PLAN FATTENS THE CALF FOR SLAUGHTER.

The Marshall Plan was first proposed by Under-Secretary Dean Acheson in a speech at Cleveland, Miss. in May 1947. The following month it was proposed by General Marshall at Harvard University. It was intended to include the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, as well as Western Europe; the Soviet zone finally being left out only because Molotov refused to agree.

What could have better pleased the Kremlin than a $22 billion expenditure (the original amount) in Europe, to be divided between East and West, with not a single dollar of arms or ammunition? It would help fatten up Europe for the take over, drive the U. S. toward bankruptcy and inflation, and force us to pare our own arms budget (as it did). Why Molotov rejected this handout is still a puzzle.

I suggest that you were mistaken last May when the State Department wrote me that you did not need anyone who was well-informed on the Soviets.

21. AMERICAN ACQUIESCENCE IN RED-ENSLAVEMENT OF POLAND, LITHUANIA, LATVIA AND ESTONIA REMAINS UNEXPLAINED.

It is believed that still unrevealed secret agreements of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam hold these mysteries. Continued secrecy cannot be explained on grounds of American security. It seems high time to get everything out in the open, reveal the errors, or worse, of the past and let the American people see where they've been and what they are headed for.

22. SOMEBODY TURNED OVER TO RUSSIA THE HUNDREDS OF DANUBE BARGES WE HELD, just before the Danubian Conference met. This was our only trading point. Without it, at the Conference, we were treated contemptuously, as could be expected.

23. TITO KILLS AMERICAN FLIERS, WAR MINISTER MIKHAILOVICH AND JAILS ARCHBISHOP STEPINAC. WE REWARD HIM. Until the recent erection, by public subscription, of a monument in Arlington Cemetery to the five American fliers shot down over Yugoslavia, their graves were covered with a slab reading: "Killed in airplane crash," which was untrue. Requests by the Public Committee to inscribe on the monument: "Shot down over Yugoslavia" were refused. For such activities, Tito was given the gold store of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, vast UNRRA supplies a steel mill and $100 million loan. After which he voted against us on Korea in the Security Council of the U.N. No wonder Prime Minister Nehru said we treat our enemies better than our friends.

24. ANOTHER KOREA HAS BEEN PREPARED IN WESTERN GERMANY. While the Soviets, contrary to agreements, are building an army in Eastern Germany, we keep Western Germany disarmed. When the East Germans attack, the situation will be even worse than Korea, for there will be no armed Germans to fight beside our 2 divisions in Germany and the East Germans should reach the Rhine in days or weeks unless the French and British come in force, as they have failed to do in Korea.

25. THE DEFENSE EFFORT IN WESTERN EUROPE LOOKS LIKE A PHONY.

As long as Italy, Germany and Spain are excluded, Western Europe is strategically incomplete. French and British armaments are woefully weak. Although the Soviets and their Satellites have completely violated the disarmament stipulations of the peace treaties with Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, we hold Italy to the 6 divisions, plus 200 light planes, of the peace treaty; we hold Germany to limited production, even after the vast dismantling which continued until 1948 in our zone and still goes on in the British; we are now preparing for more billions to France, Britain, Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries without any agreement for them to pull in their belts on welfare handouts, or even to remove the Communist sympathizers from high posts in their Governments.

26. STATE DEPT. PRO-SOVIETISM CAUSED THE BERLIN AIRLIFT. At Potsdam, in July 1945, it was agreed that our forces in Berlin would have a ground and air corridor from West Germany to Berlin. The State Dept. opposed getting this in writing from the Russians. The Air Force insisted and got the air corridor written in the agreement. The Army submitted. If the Airforce had been as weak as the Army, the Berlin Airlift could not have come into existence. If the Army had insisted on its view, the Airlift would never have been necessary. The State Dept., somehow or other, is always found to be the Soviet's advocate.

27. LATE IN 1948 THE U.N. MET IN PARIS to attempt to settle the Berlin Airlift and blockade. Ambassador Jessup asked the Chinese delegation, which had intended to vote

with the U. S., not to do so. This top mystery leaves unanswered the question of whom Ambassador Jessup really represented, as Gen. Marshall was Secretary of State at the time.

At about the same time, in a memo to the State Department, Republican John Foster Dulles advised that Berlin be abandoned. Ambassador Jessup concurred. So seriously did the State Dept. regard this advice that Gen. Clay deemed it advisable to fly to Washington to explain that the abandonment of Berlin in the face of Russian threats, would be tantamount to the abandonment of Western Europe.

Again in Paris, in 1949, at the meeting arranged by Jessup and Malik, which finally ended the airlift, Jessup fought for acceptance of the Russian terms. Once more Clay had to fight to stop it.

And now Clay is out and Dulles and Jessup are in.

28. THE POST-WAR CLAY-SOKOLOVSKY AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR THE RETURN OF RUSSIAN ARMY DESERTERS from our zone of Germany, was morally wrong and against American interest. It stopped an incipient anti-Communist movement in the Russian Army, it prevented us gaining valuable information and adherents for World War III, and presented the United States to European anti-Communists as the friend of Communism and hence their enemy. This same agreement was forced on General MacArthur in Japan and Korea, where smaller numbers of Russian Army deserters were handed back at the border, to be executed.

It is reported that in 1948 emissaries from aRussian armored division in East Germany came to Gen. Clay and offered to march over with full equipment, if we would receive them. Gen. Clay was ordered to refuse and to hand the emissaries back to the Russians at the Zonal Border. Would you now refuse such an offer, if made?

29. WE WERE HARDLY ESTABLISHED IN BERLIN BEFORE OUR ZONE WAS THE SCENE OF NIGHTLY "SNATCHES" BY RUSSIANS. When they were caught by our M.P.'s, they were brought to command posts. If the Russian was smart enough to charge that the German "snatchee" was wanted for some imagined crime in the East Zone, the Russians were permitted to take the German across the boundary. No legal formalities were complied with. This continued for at least two years.

30. AT THE NUREMBERG WAR CRIMES TRIALS THE GERMANS WERE ACCUSED OF THE MASSACRE OF 10,000 POLISH OFFICERS IN KATYN FOREST. At the demand of the Russians, no evidence was introduced, yet at the end of the trials, the Germans were not acquitted of this particular charge. Meantime, our G 2 collected the evidence of this Katyn massacre. It is still kept secret. A Committee headed by former Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane collected evidence and presented it in outline at a press conference in New York. The Voice of America refused to carry the item in its news broadcast on the ground that it might arouse hatred of the Russians in Poland. This is the continuance in 1950 of the appeasement of Russia in Poland, which began at Teheran in 1943 and was made conclusive in 1945, when we abandoned the Yalta Agreement for a Polish government jointly formed of the Polish London Govt.-in-Exile and the Communists. According to the Harry Hopkins papers, this was a deliberate betrayal, Hopkins saying he had no interest in getting the recognized London Polish Government-in-exile into the new Government of Poland. We agreed to accept, instead, the Communist Government, plus one of the

London Polish leaders with no authority. After the sell-out, we, prematurely, withdrew recognition from the London government and made stateless refugees of the Polish troops who fought beside us at Casseno and elsewhere.

31. $90 MILLIONS GIVEN RED POLAND.

After the Polish Communist Government had scornfully rejected America's request for the free elections pledged at Yalta, and refused our Ambassador permission to visit Americans in jail there, Under-Secretary Acheson approved a $90 million loan over the protests of Ambassador Lane. Mr. Acheson s law firm acted as the agent of the Polish Government. Part of this money went to arm the dreaded secret police.

32. DEAN ACHESON DISCARDS KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA IN FAVOR OF TITO.

On December 22, 1945, Dean Acheson, as Acting Secretary, recognized Tito's Yugoslavia in place of our ally and co-signer of the Declaration of the U.N., the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In the agreement of Yalta, it was provided that "free elections" were to be held. None was. Mr. Acheson's act seems to fall into the definition of a "war crime", as defined at Nuremberg.

33. DEAN ACHESON WELCOMES THE "RED DEAN" OF CANTERBURY.

November 14, 1945, on the platform at Madison Square Garden with the "Red Dean" of Canterbury, and pro-Communists Corliss Lamont, Paul Robeson, Albert Fitzgerald and former Ambassador Joe E. Davies, Dean Acheson said:

> "....Never in the past has there been any place on the globe where the vital interests of the American and Russian people have clashed or even been antagonistic and there is no objective reason to suppose that there should now, or in the future, ever be such a place.....We understand and agree with them that to have friendly Governments along her borders is essential both for the security of the Soviet Union and for the peace of the world."

Whatever one might think of poor little Russia faced by such unfriendly governments as Finland, Greece, Iran, South Korea, etc., Mr. Acheson's plea for friendship must have been heartening to Russia, but what does it reveal about Mr. Acheson?

Some believe that the words "friendly Governments" were taken from the text of one of the still secret Pacts of Potsdam, which tied our hands in China.

34. AVERILL HARRIMAN OF YALTA IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

Your top adviser on how to push the Communist bigwigs out of the Czar's Kremlin back to the garrets of the European underground, from which they emerged in 1917, is Mr. Averill Harriman. Mr. Harriman has much pushing to do. As our Ambassador in Moscow, during the latter part of the war, he was either the architect, or at least chief draftsman, of our Soviet giveaway program. He it was who prepared the secret Yalta agreement giving the Far East to Russia. He brought this to Yalta and had it agreed to by President Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins in a 15 minute session with Stalin and Molotov (according to Secy. Stettinius). When the British learned of it later, it is reported, Eden urged Churchill to refuse to sign, but he said he couldn't fight both America and Russia, so gave in. I hope Mr. Harriman knows better now, but his education, and the development of his judgment, are too costly in American lives.

35. OTHER TOP FOREIGN POLICY ADVISERS WITH SMALL QUALIFICATIONS ARE:

Under-Secy. Webb, with no apparent foreign affairs background; Deputy Under-Secy. Rusk, best known as author of a book on the subject of improved curricula for girls' colleges, protege of Alger Hiss; Philip C. Jessup, (friend and witness for Hiss, long time associate of Frederick Vanderbilt Field, T. A. Bisson, Edward C. Carter, Owen Lattimore, Harriett Lucy Moore, Philip A. Jaffe and Guenther Stein) editor of the China White Paper and protagonist of Red China; John Foster Dulles, a gentleman of the highest reputation, whose lack of discernment led him to place Alger Hiss as President of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, and now has led him to replace Mr. Hiss with Hiss's former top Assistant in the State Dept.; and Wm. T. Stone, protector of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, overlord of the Pinko "Voice of America" and now State Department member of the new National Psychological Strategy Board in which (N. Y. Times, Aug. 18, 1950) the State Dept. will be "the center of authority."

36. RICHARD J. H. JOHNSTON, REPORTING FROM KOREA, QUOTES A G.I. AT THE BATTLE-FRONT AS SAYING: "....DAMNED IF I KNOW WHY I'M FIGHTING TO SAVE THIS HELL-HOLE." (New York Times, August 13, 1950, page 1) The answer, of course, is because your State Department refused arms to the South Koreans for their defense; confining them to small arms suitable only for internal security. This is the same policy followed in China where our G.Is. may soon be asking the same question about that twenty times bigger "hell-hole." There has never been any shortage of Koreans or Chinese to fight on our side.

Mr. President, why have we preferred to use armed Americans unfamiliar with the country and unaccustomed to living under native conditions, instead of giving arms to the anti-Communist native forces? And, why do we still continue that policy?

37. WITHDRAWAL OF GEN. HODGE'S FORCES FROM KOREA IN 1948-49.

Had our occupation of Korea continued, the Americans who landed in Korea last June would have had bases, supplies and equipment at hand. Hodge's withdrawal and your Jan. 5, 1950 statement were open invitations to the Reds to attack. Your change of attitude June 27th was sound, but we have a right to know who advised you to change. There was no secret about N. Korean intentions to attack after we withdrew. It was openly predicted by our military in Japan; and our Korean occupation officers, heading for home last year, some via Europe and some via the Pacific, spread the word everywhere. Just last Sunday night, Ambassador Jessup said we still have no policy in Korea, but will leave it to decision by the 53 nations who voted with us in the U.N.

38. MAC ARTHUR ORDERED TO FAVOR THE COMMUNISTS.

One of the least understandable of the variety of cock-eyed orders sent to Gen. MacArthur by the State Dept. was the order, still in effect, certifying the Communist Party of Japan as one of the "democratic parties" to receive official encouragement. Gen. MacArthur has been denied authority to act against that Party so that, even today, with Korean Communists shooting Americans in the back, Gen. MacArthur cannot take action against Japanese Communists as such.

39. CHINA, KEY TO ASIA.

In spite of public warning by leading world statesmen that China held the key to the peace of the world, you have treated that vast and potentially powerful ally as though it were only a useful tidbit to appease the voracious appetite of the Red Czar, whom you

hoped would "join in the efforts of the whole community of nations to build a peaceful world."

In 1899, in proclaiming the Open Door Policy, now sunk without trace, Secretary of State John Hay said:

> "Whoever understands China....has a key to politics for the next five hundred years."

Lenin and Stalin both stressed that the turning point int he world revolution would come when China was conquered by Communism.

In an address to the Politburo of the American Communist Party, published in part in the Daily Worker of Dec. 2 , 1945, W. Z. Foster, Party Chairman, said:

> "The war in China is the key to all problems on the international front...."

A few days later you sent General George C. Marshall to China to push that country into a coalition with the Communists, which you described, 3 years later, as "the same thing as a Communist Government."

Innumerable warnings have pressed in on you, but you seem adamant in your determination, continued even today in your orders to the Seventh Fleet, to throw China to the Russian wolves. Most important of these warnings came from General Douglas MacArthur, who, adding to his private warnings, said publicly in March 1948:

> "I can say, without the slightest hesitation, that a free, independent, peaceful and friendly China is of profound importance to the peace of the world and to the position of the United States."

40. THE KEY IS THROWN AWAY.

By a series of acts of commission and omission, some of which are detailed below, China was delivered over to Soviet power. Stuart Symington, on July 28, said our greatest shortage was manpower. China is the world's greatest reservoir of manpower. Physically, and intellectually, the equals, or the superiors, of the Koreans, we have seen what they can do when well-trained, well-led and well-armed. 500 million Chinese turned over to Russia tipped the manpower balance in her favor. It is not yet too late, however, 500,000 troops under Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa, and 1,500,000 Nationalist guerrillas now fighting on the mainland, could be armed and trained to re-conquer a Communist China, seething with revolt and dissatisfaction.

41. SECRETARY ACHESON'S SUDDEN INTEREST IN CHINA.

In 1943, Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who had been brought into the Department in 1941, as liaison with Congress, suddenly took a profound interest in China, where he has never been. Beginning that summer, his initials appeared frequently on the blue archive copies of messages to China. These initials show the identity of the person preparing the message, which is itself signed with the name of the Secretary or Acting Secretary, who, however, seldom sees it. Among his China activities was the preparation of General Marshall's instructions, and a message to Ambassador Hurley instructing him to follow Henry Wallace's report on China as policy guide, thenceforth.

The beginning of Mr. Acheson's interest in China coincided with the Soviet break with the Polish government in April 1943; the secret Lattimore letter to Jos. Barnes, of June, 1943; and the Jessup-IPR blast at Chiang Kai-shek and praise of the Chinese Communists as pure democrats and agrarian reformers, in July, 1943. When the Soviet line on China changed from pro-Chiang to anti-Chiang, Acheson suddenly became interested.

Mr. Acheson's continuing interest in China was expressed in the embargo on arms to Chiang Kai-shek; the issuance of the White Paper on China, which served the double purpose of denouncing Chiang (though strangely it made no single charge of bad faith against him) and revealing our bad faith to every Chancellory in the world. Mr. Acheson's championing of the Hiss brothers, of Harold Glasser, another of the same network, of Lattimore and Jessup and Barnett and Hanson and Service and others may be a tribute to his compassionate regard for sinners fallen into evil ways, but it discredits him as the guardian of our security.

42. LAUCHLIN CURRIE COUNTERMANDS THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF.

After V-E Day, the Chinese applied for surrendered German arms and ammunition. The Joint Chiefs of Staff approved, sent orders to General Eisenhower and 20,000 rifles actually left a German port for China, via India. The Joint Chiefs order was then countermanded by Presidential order signed by Lauchlin Currie, Administrative Assistant (since named by both Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley). The balance of the vast stores of German armament was then destroyed; by whose orders is unknown.

43. CHINA'S RESERVE AMMUNITION DESTROYED.

At the time of V-J Day, 39 Chinese Divisions had been partially, or wholly, equipped with American arms. Ammunition in China was limited, but vast stores, all provided under Lend-lease, lay in India awaiting shipment by air over the hump, or by truck over the Stilwell Road. By somebody's order, all this vast store was destroyed and none re-credited to Chinese Lend-lease account. The amount destroyed is uncertain, except that smaller caliber ammunition was blown up in dumps in India and larger caliber (amounting to 120,000 tons) was taken to sea and dumped in the Bay of Bengal. In the Indian operation, it is reported, 25 Americans and 125 Indians lost their lives in accidents.

For lack of this ammunition, China's best 39 divisions were never able to undertake continuous field operations against the Communists, but had to husband remaining ammunition for defense of fixed points. This was made certain by an American and British embargo applied against ammunition export licenses to China, from Dec. 1945 until about Oct. 1948.

44. CHINESE REDS KILL AMERICANS WITH IMPUNITY.

Between the Japanese surrender, and V-J Day, small American intelligence forces behind Japanese lines in China were ambushed by Chinese Communists. This continued at intervals after V-J Day, under varying circumstances, until our forces withdrew. No apologies or reparations were ever obtained, and urgent requests from U. S. Commanders in China and from Fleet Commanders (under whose orders the Marines were acting) failed to bring authority to take punitive action. Even when the Chinese Reds took to beating and jailing our diplomats, in 1949-50, the State Department continued to favor them.

45. STATE DEPT. CIRCUMVENTED YOUR ORDERS FOR SURPLUS ARMS TO CHINA.

In March 1948, after Congressional clamor, surplus arms and ammunition lying in the Pacific Islands were ordered made available to China, then desperately short of ammunition for American arms previously supplied. Prior to the issuance of this public order, I am informed, a secret order went to Tokio to classify as surplus only unserviceable material. When the Chinese arrived, they managed to get a little serviceable ammunition because the officers in charge, having a better sense of reality than the State Dept.'s FLC, let their consciences be their guide in deciding what was unserviceable. Today, with your guarantee to Formosa in effect, there is a shortage of ammunition there. If not promptly remedied, it may cause the fall of Formosa, requiring American landings not necessary if we give the Chinese the wherewithal to fight.

46. THE AMERICAN NAVY ORDERED TO RUN AWAY.

Four times, the American Navy has been ordered to withdraw from legally entered ports, when faced with Chinese Communist threats. Three such withdrawals occurred in late 1945 (at Dairen, Chefoo and Hulutao), the fourth at Shanghai in 1949. Why we ran away from the Communists in China when they were weak and then went in to fight them in Korea, when they were strong, is explained by your turn from appeasement to strength, which we all approve. Too bad you didn't act on Churchill's advice in Fulton, Missouri, in 1946, while the arms destruction program was still underway and could have been halted, and before Russia had the A-Bomb.

47. HENRY WALLACE WROTE OUR CHINA POLICY.

Ever since the Henry Wallace Reports, on China, cabled from Kunming and New Delhi in June 1944 and delivered to President Roosevelt in July 1944, the theme song of American policy in China has been the tune of "Chiang must go." Even the recall of Gen. Stilwell was recommended by Mr. Wallace. In 1948, spending two days in China, Paul Hoffman wrote and signed a letter to Chiang Kai-shek, advising him to resign. He did not mail it, but news of it became common gossip, and Mr. Hoffman told a friend, after his return, he regretted not mailing it. Yet, in all these years, your Administration has never dared name a possible successor to Chiang Kai-shek. They knew there was only one possibility, and that his name was Mao Tse-tung, but they never had the courage to say it openly. Why not make the Wallace Reports public? In his book, "Soviet Asia Mission" (1946) Mr. Wallace said: "As we began to talk about details, it became apparent that Pres. Roosevelt had much more than China in mind. He urged me to take Owen Lattimore with me, who, he said, was one of the world's great experts on the problems involving Chinese-Russian relationships."

48. HIGH POLICY CHINA PAPERS STILL SECRET.

Last fall, Secy. Acheson wrote two letters, one to the then President Li Tsung-jen of China, and one to Chiang Kai-shek. They are still secret. May we not know why? Also, all cables from President Roosevelt to Chiang Kai-shek and vice-versa; and the 12 coded messages called for by Ambassador Hurley when before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate in Nov. 1945. The Chinese, of course, have these messages; in the Amerasia case, John S. Service revealed he had turned some over to Philip Jaffe. Mr. President, are not the American people entitled to this information?

49. ARMS FOR THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS.

Proposals were made in 1944 by Gen. Stilwell, V. P. Wallace and the State Dept. to arm the Chinese Communists with American arms. Actual implementation of these proposals in 1945, and the proposal to Congress by Under-Secretary Acheson in March

1946 to arm both Communists and Nationalists, suggest a complete report on this whole subject.

50. JOHN S. SERVICE TESTIMONY BEFORE SEN. TYDINGS HINTED AT A CONSPIRACY. But the facts did not come out. In April 1945, the State Dept. proposed that the planned American landings on the China Coast be shifted from the sandy beaches of Nationalist-defended Hangchow Bay, far to the north in the Communist area; and that 300,000 Communists be armed and trained by us. The Navy rejected the plan, for tactical reasons.

In July, Gen. Stilwell, then in command on Okinawa, renewed this plea. Again, it was scotched. The Japanese surrender in August ended that plot. Had it succeeded, the conquest of China by the Reds would have been advanced by 2 or 3 years. The Tydings Committee covered this up.

51. SUPPRESSION OF THE WEDEMEYER REPORT FROM AUGUST 1947 TO AUGUST 1949. Had the Wedemeyer report been implemented, Communism would have lost in China, and there would have been no war in Korea. The continued suppression of the Korean section of the Wedemeyer report may hide another skeleton in the closet. Did Wedemeyer warn you?

52. WHY DO WE FIGHT ALONE IN KOREA? At the very beginning of the Korean fighting, the Chinese Nationalists offered 3 of their 8 American-equipped divisions for immediate service in Korea and the ships to transport them. The State Dept. refused this offer. To date, no other member of the U. N. has delivered a single unit of ground troops to Korea, though some may be enroute. Our boys die there alone. Parents ask why Chinese allies were rejected, and also why volunteers at American embassies in every country of Western Europe are turned away with a printed notice reading: "The U. S. Government does not accept the enlistment of foreigners outside the U. S." Both may be sound policy, but parents would appreciate an explanation.

Should the balance of the South Korean forces collapse, the refusal of Chinese divisions will leave us fighting a race war in Korea, as now charged in Communist propaganda. White against Yellow is a picture that would turn most of the 1 billion people of East Asia against us.

53. EVERYWHERE, MR. PRESIDENT, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO MAKE OUR ENEMIES INTO FRIENDS, BY TREATING OUR FRIENDS AS ENEMIES. The Free Governments of Poland and Yugoslavia in exile and the people of those two countries were our friends. We treated them as our enemies and turned them over to Communism. The people and Government of the Republic of China were our friends. As Gen. Marshall said: "By a stroke of the pen" (the embargo) "I disarmed them" and step by step turned that vast "depot" of manpower over to Communism. Pres. Quirino of the Philippines proposed an anti-Communist Asiatic alliance in July 1949, came to Washington, was told to "lay off" and dropped the idea. Only 4 months ago, leaders of your Administration proposed a $10 billion a year bribe to the Soviets for another piece of paper calling for 50 years of peace, on promises of disarmament by Russia and real disarmament by us.

Last year, a Republican political leader told me that Communism was not a political issue. "It's like V-D", he said, "Everybody's against it, but nobody wants to talk

about it." Recently, he told me that the only issue in this campaign was "Korea." I reminded him of what he said last year. "That was right," he said, "but now we've got it."

How true! "Red-herring" poultices, "Let the dust settle" and "won't turn my back on Alger Hiss" palliatives will no longer serve. Drastic surgery and informed medication by competent doctors are called for. The quacks, who have a record of 100% wrong guesses, should go. The bad medical advice you have taken should be discarded. New advisers and new remedies are urgent before the present bleeding drains our strength.

54. IT TOOK A GENIUS TO LOSE THE COLD WAR.

It took hundreds of wrong decisions to reduce you to the necessity of calling for help to challenge a scarcely fifth-rate Soviet satellite. It took scores of wrong decisions to bring about the conquest of one-third the world in the last five years, without the shedding of a drop of Russian blood. And, all by a punch-drunk Soviet Union which had seen half its European territory ravaged, 20,000,000 of its sons and daughters slain, and 1,000,000 of its army in revolt at the end of World War II.

It took genius in reverse to lose our war (call it Cold, or call it Hot) with the Soviets. This is proven by the unbelief 5 years ago that it could possibly happen. It is proven by our post-war offers of aid, at least until Russian rejection of the Marshall Plan. It is proven by our still continuing offers to share the atom bomb. Russia claims (correctly) 830 million people behind the Iron Curtain, yet, also only claims 18 million Communists there. The State Dept. and Voice of America "Pinkoes" have been losing the Cold War, where the odds are heavily on our side. Now they are getting us into a hot war where the odds are heavily against us. It doesn't take a genius to figure that out.

55. J. PETERS, GERHARDT EISLER, ADAMS (OR ADAMSON) AND JOHN SANTO WERE FOUR OF RUSSIA'S TOP ESPIONAGE AGENTS IN THE U.S.A.

After this was known to our authorities, Eisler and Adams were permitted to escape, and Peters and Santo were permitted to leave voluntarily. Information, such as we are now obtaining from British spy Fuchs, and American spy Gold, might have been obtained from these four, if jailed here.

56. IN YOUR BROADCAST TO THE COUNTRY JULY 19th, you quoted Chief of Staff, J. Lawton Collins, as reporting that "Our Far Eastern forces were organized and equipped primarily to perform peaceful occupation duties in Japan."

The 8th Army, and other forces that occupied Japan, were heavily armed for the campaigns in the Pacific Islands; and prepared for the landings on the Chinese and Japanese Coasts. If they left all that armor behind, as reported by Gen. Collins, who induced you to permit its destruction? Wouldn't it be useful in Korea? Might it not be useful if the Russians attacked us in Japan?

57. IN SPITE OF THE KILLING AND WOUNDING, WITHOUT APOLOGY OR REPARATIONS, OF MORE THAN 100 AMERICANS BY THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS; in spite of the beating and jailing of your representatives, (our consuls in China), in spite of daily abuse of America and you by the Chinese Communist press and radio, last Sept. 29th, Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, in an interview in the "Pathfinder Magazine", recommended the recognition of Red China. Recently, you appointed him to the Security Council. His is not the

advice your countrymen wish to follow.

58. BEHIND THE FANTASTIC INSULTS YOU STAND FOR ALMOST DAILY IN THE U.N., State Dept. fat cats, such as the Washington Post, U. S. News, Walter Lippmann and Drew Pearson hint at appeasement of the Chinese and Korean Communists, to restore peace. Parents, whose captured sons had their hands tied and were shot in the face, want punishment, not appeasement, of Communists in Korea and elsewhere.

59. WHY DO WE HESITATE TO ARREST THE AXIS SALLYS AND TOKIO ROSES OF THIS WAR? Poison, more sinister than the treason of these American fascist broadcasters of World War II, is broadcast daily in the Communist "Daily Worker", "People's World" and "Political Affairs" and at "Hands Off Korea" meetings. America is denounced; our sons are accused of wanton slaughter of peaceful Koreans; we are accused as aggressors. To make it complete, you are denounced as a tool of Wall St. The fulminations of Kim Il Sung, head of the N. Korean Government, are printed. Even denunciations of America, lyingly attributed to captured officers by name, are printed. Treason was not condoned in World War II. Why now?

60. IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF AUGUST 4, 1950 SEN. HUBERT H.HUMPHREY, your ardent supporter, said: "American occupation forces were withdrawn from South Korea in July 1949. ....Again, we miscalculated and failed to understand the menace of the Communist conspiracy." Mr. President, your advisers have failed to understand this menace, at home and abroad, again and again. Of this bad advice Americans have "had enough."

61. WHY DOESN'T THE F.B.I. TRUST THE STATE DEPARTMENT?

The reasons for this distrust are apparent to those who have watched the records of hearings before the Un-American Activities Committee, the Tydings Committee and others One incident is the F.B.I. report in 1946, which was put in chart form by the State Department and introduced in the Senate by Senator McCarthy. The story back of this is that the F.B.I.material was turned over to the State Department Office for Visual Presentations. The head of that office was Carl Aldo Marzani, later sentenced to jail as a Communist.

Another instance concerns the file on Nathan Silvermaster (member of Elizabeth Bentley's and Whittaker Chambers' spy rings) who testified that William T. Stone, his superior, showed him the F.B.I.record. Mr. Stone has since been promoted to a high State Dept. position.

Another was the instance in which this same Silvermaster was cleared by Under Secy. of War Robert P. Paterson after a derogatory report by G2. This was supposedly on request of Lauchlin Currie, who saw the file, and who, himself, was later named by both Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley.

In each of these cases the sources of F.B.I. information were revealed to a Communist, who might be expected to report to the Communist Party; thus possibly spoiling F.B.I. sources of information.

From what I hear, the F.B.I. has no more confidence in the State Department than do Americans generally.

62. TO CLOSE THIS BILL OF PARTICULARS WITH A CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTION, I attach a reprint of a portion of my testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee, June 10, 1948. I hope you will find these proposals, in spite of their brevity, worthy of consideration. They are not original, but represent the conclusions of many of the few Americans who may properly be considered authorities on Communism. Instead of leaving the initiative with the Soviets, as does the present policy of partial containment, it proposes that we seize the initiative, arm our fighting friends and give men everywhere the opportunity to fight for freedom, if they have the will. Like most worthwhile proposals, it starts at home.

If you are not longer committed to the road to disaster we have followed for the last five years, I hope you will give it serious consideration.

ALFRED KOHLBERG
1 West 37th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

August 30, 1950

Step 4: American economic, charitable, relief, or reconstruction aid shall be permitted only to nations entering the alliance provided for in step 3.

Step 5: Direct military and other aid shall be supplied to dissident elements within the communist world, exactly in the manner that Russia now supplies such aid to communist and other dissidents in the free world, as, for example, in China, Korea, Greece, Trieste, Austria, Germany, Italy, Iran, Finland, the Philippines, and elsewhere.

Step 6: Diplomatic relations shall be immediately broken with all nations and areas within the communist world. Such diplomatic relations in the past were presumed to smooth the course of international relations but as now practiced by the Communist nations, only serve to aggravate such relations. Only last April I returned from Japan where the Soviet Union has several hundred employees in its Tokyo Embassy. A few dozen are engaged in diplomatic work. The balance are busy at espionate, propaganda, agitation, and intrigue.

All these steps can be taken at once. No one of them is warlike, nor does any of them, except the rupture of diplomatic relations, go beyond the steps already taken by the Soviet communism in its cold war on us. Those who think we are now at peace with Russia must consider all these steps to peace; they exactly duplicate Russia's peaceful approaches to us. Those who think we are engaged in a cold war with Russia will applaud retaliation confined to the "cold" level.

97-2460-31

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION

H. R. 6801

A BILL MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR FOREIGN AID FOR THE PERIOD BEGINNING APRIL 3, 1948, AND ENDING JUNE 30, 1949, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1948

Portion of

CHINA AID PROGRAM

STATEMENT OF ALFRED KOHLBERG, NEW YORK CITY

More than 2½ years ago the last of our enemies in World War II surrendered unconditionally. Never in the history of the Republic had the United States won so complete a victory; all other foreign wars in our history having been settled by peace treaties and not by unconditional surrender. During these 2½ years President Truman, with the assistance of three different Secretaries of State, has so completely lost the peace in Europe, in the Near East, in Korea, in China,

and almost everywhere in the Far East, that I find our people turning almost in resignation to the thought of a third world war as a corrective for these errors. Since my return from China and Japan in March, I have been frequently asked, "how did we get into our present mess?" "Is it because of stupidity or was it treason?".

In the past 3 years this Congress has been rushed from one world-saving emergency measure to another. Each, at the time, was guaranteed to win the peace, save the world, and prevent World War III. These were Bretton Woods, $7,000,000,000; UNRRA, $3,500,000,000; UNO, a few million; the British loan, $3,750,000,000; post UNRRA aid, $350,000,000; the peace treaties with Italy and three satellites, Greek-Turkish aid, $400,000,000. I might also mention the $500,000,000 Export-Import Bank loan to China held in front of the Chinese horse like a carrot, while the stick of coalition with the Communists was vigorously applied by General Marshall on the spot. When the stick failed, the $500,000,000 carrot was canceled.

Each of these measures was put through in a frenzy of enthusiasm. Each has failed. It is time now to look this latest horse coldly in the mouth and put some check rein on it so that it does not go dashing off wildly in all directions and end up nowhere, like UNRRA, Bretton Woods, the U. N., and so forth, before it.

CONFUSED AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

The American public is confused by an apparent policy of stumbling from one step to another, and from one emergency to another, in an unplanned attempt to contain Soviet Communist expansion everywhere in the world. Our armed services are in direct contact with Communist armies in too many places, in Germany, in Austria, in Greece, in Trieste, in Korea, in North China, and on the thin water barriers between Siberia and Alaska and between the Kuriles and Japan. We fear that incidents may result in an unintended war.

Only by turning these points of contact into outposts of unity and confronting the Communist world with a closely knit free world too strong to attack, can peace be preserved. To accomplish this, may I suggest the following steps now. Some of these steps can be written into your appropriation bill, some would need other legislation.

In their memoirs our recent leaders are now telling us that World War II could have been prevented had steps similar to these been taken at any time prior to 1939. The objectives of my proposals are:

One, to prevent world war III by destroying the Soviet fifth column and bringing into being an alliance of free people so overwhelming that world communism will not dare a military decision.

Two, while preventing the present cold war from becoming a shooting war, to destroy world communism from within.

While it is true that the conduct of our foreign relations is the constitutional prerogative of the President, the power of the purse remains with Congress. The signers of the Constitution probably never expected that it would cost $10,000,000 a year to conduct our foreign relations. It is my humble opinion that when the cash is appropriated you assume responsibility for results.

NATURE OF OPPOSITION TO DEMOCRACY

What we face is an ideology plus a force. This ideology promises socialism, economic democracy, miraculous medicine, free education, no more exploitation, racial equality, and every variety of "pie in the sky." These ideas are for export only. Behind the iron curtain it delivers poverty, the police state, terror, and slavery.

The force is the Communist international, which includes the ever-expanding Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics, and musters 450,000,000 subjects and slaves, and millions of spies and agents all over the world.

It will destroy us or we will destroy it.

Force can be destroyed by force, but an ideology cannot be destroyed by force alone. It must be destroyed by a better ideology.

We have that better ideology. It is freedom—political freedom, religious freedom, and economic freedom.

I believe that everyone of the steps which I am going to suggest is inevitable; that every one of them will in any case be taken the day after war comes; but that, if taken now or in the very near future, war may be avoided.

Step 1: Congress must declare that world communism has proclaimed the United States its enemy, and itself our enemy. This declaration that communist hierarchy has officially made a number of times, most particularly in section 1, paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the Communist International which proclaims its objectives to be to fight "for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics," that is, for the conquest of the entire world. In accordance with this declaration, "adhering to, giving aid and comfort to" world communism would fall under the constitutional definition of treason.

Step 2: Unrestricted trade relations shall be permitted only with nations entering the alliance outlined in step three. Trade relations with Communist-controlled nations and areas shall be prohibited. Trade relations with other nations and areas shall be controlled so that no materials which may directly or indirectly promote the war potential of the communist areas may thereby reach such areas.

Step 3: American armed aid in case of attack by armed Communists shall be promised to every nation taking the above action on condition that each such nation agrees to extend armed aid under the same circumstances to each of the others so qualifying. No question of the form of government of nations entering such an alliance, whether free enterprise, democratic, monarchical, dictatorial, socialistic, or otherwise shall be given consideration. When thinking of military alliances, we should remember that Russia signed a treaty of military alliance during the war with Great Britain to run 20 years.

Since the war she has signed treaties of military alliance with the following former allies of ours: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and France; also with the following enemy nations: Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Finland, all, not long since, described as Fascist beasts. The alliance I envision would be independent of the UN which we would permit to continue in the hope of a happier day in the dim and distant future, at which time it could be reorganized to fit.